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THE PRESENT POSITION OF AMERICAN TRADE UNIONISM

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The present paper falls into three parts: (1) a discussion of the growth of membership of American trade unions from 1897 to 1920; (2) an analysis of the great increase in membership since 1915; and, (3) a consideration of the factors making for the growth or decline in membership in the immediate future.

Membership is, of course, not the sole criterion of the success or failure of trade unionism. Other elements must be taken into account. The legal position of trade unions, as it changes from time to time, is a matter of moment, although as history has so frequently shown, the effect on trade unionism of adverse legal decisions is almost always exaggerated. The conception entertained by trade unionists of the relation of organized labor to the existing economic machine may very well be a determining element in the position of trade unionism. But when allowances have been made for the relatively slow changes in other factors, the movement of membership may be regarded as the most important single consideration in estimating the growing or waning influence of trade unionism. The enormous growth in the membership of the American unions since 1915 may properly be considered the most significant feature of recent trade-union history. The significance of this increase can be understood, however, only when it is projected against the background of the course of trade-union membership for a number of years.

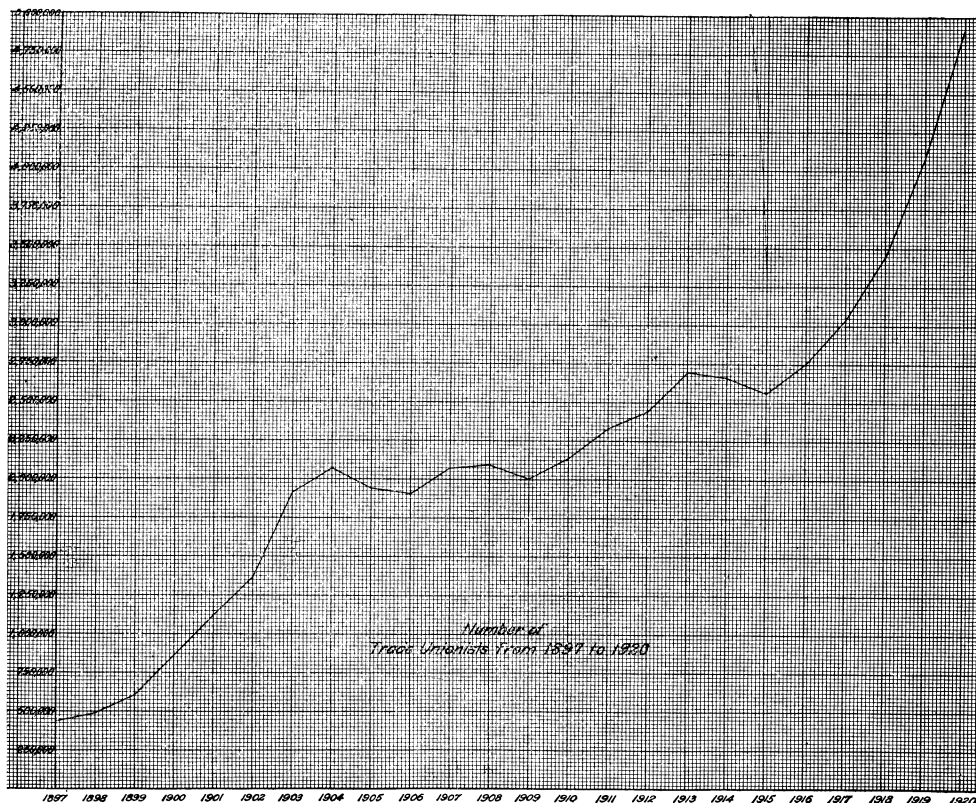
Before attempting to sketch the history of trade-union membership in the United States since 1897, however, I should say a few words as to the statistics of membership which I am using. Since the figures of membership published by the American Federation of Labor include only the membership of affiliated national unions, and since no official bureau in the United States, either federal or state, concerns itself to assemble the statistics of national unions, I attempted some years since to estimate as closely as possible the membership of American national unions since 1897. The results of this study, covering the period from 1897 to 1914 inclusive, were published in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for October, 1916. These statistics have been carried through 1920 by the same methods used in the earlier study. It

is unnecessary to take time here to describe these methods, since they have been fully set forth in the article cited. To avoid the possibility of misunderstanding, one point however, should be made clear. The statistics which I have used include the Canadian membership of national trade unions which also have members in the United States, but do not include the membership of independent local unions in the United States. Since the membership of these local unions approximately equals that of the Canadian local unions affiliated with international unions, the figures may be regarded as fairly representative of the membership of trade unions in the United States. Even if they somewhat exaggerate that membership, the relative movement shown by the figures is correct, since the movement of trade-union membership in Canada, as we know from the very careful estimates of membership made since 1910 by the Canadian Department of Labour, has been almost identical with that in the United States.

The history of trade-union membership in the United States since 1897 may be divided into four distinct periods: (1) From 1897 to 1904, the membership increased from a half million to over two million, every year in this period showing an increase. (2) From 1904 to 1910, trade-union membership oscillated around the 2,000,000 mark, showing no trend either upward or downward. (3) Beginning in 1910, a pronounced upward movement became manifest. From 1910 to 1913 the membership of American trade unions rose from two million to nearly two and three-quarter millions. This movement was reversed in 1914 by the beginning of the industrial depression and by the outbreak of the Great War. By 1915, trade-union membership had fallen to approximately two and one-half millions. (4) In 1915 a great upward movement began. This movement did not slacken with the Armistice, but continued in full force until 1920, at which time the number of trade unionists was only slightly short of five million.

From a study of the statistics two conclusions, important for the present purpose, may be deduced:

1. The increase in membership since 1915 has been unprecedented in the history of American trade unionism. In no other period of equal length, except in the years from 1897 to 1903, was there an equally large percentage of increase and at no time has the increase in absolute numbers been so great.



2. Heretofore the recession in membership, even in times of extended industrial depression, has never been more than 10 per cent.

If history repeats itself, American trade unionism will have at the beginning of the next period of prosperity a far larger part of the working class enrolled in its ranks than ever before. To take only the crudest comparative figures: in 1910, the membership of American trade unions was 5.6 per cent of the gainfully occupied persons; in 1920, according to the preliminary occupation statistics, it was 12 per cent of the number of gainfully occupied persons. From 1900 to 1910, the membership increased only from 3.5 to 5.6 per cent of the gainfully occupied. But the conditions under which this great increase in membership has been attained are unique and before judgment is passed upon the probable future of trade-union membership, it will be

desirable to analyze in some detail this phenomenal growth in order to ascertain whether the increase in membership was spread equally over all industries or was concentrated on a few. For the purposes of this analysis, it seems best to compare the statistics of membership for 1920 with those for 1913, since 1913 was also a peak year and a comparison with 1915 exaggerates somewhat the actual increase. I have divided American trade unions into fifteen classes, corresponding roughly to the industries of the country. Statistics of membership for these industries are only rough approximations, since it is not possible to allocate the membership of the unions among the industries in which they are actually employed. For example, all the members of the Machinists' Union have been placed under Metal and Engineering industries, although many are employed in railroad shops. But when allowance is made for these defects, certain broad conclusions may be drawn from the tables. The first is that the increase in membership in different industries has been very unequal. In five of the industrial groups, the increase has been negligible. In order of importance, they are (1) Mining and Quarrying; (2) Food, Liquor and Tobacco; (3) Theatres and Music; (4) Chemicals, Clay, Glass and Stone; and (5) Lumber and Woodworking.

In a second group of industries, considerable percentage increases of membership occurred, but on account of the small number of trade unionists in these industries, the total addition to trade-union membership was small. The industries in this group are: (1) Textiles, (2) Leather, (3) Paper, Printing and Bookbinding, (4) Restaurant and Trade, and (5) Public Service. The increases in trade-union membership in these groups was responsible for a total increase of 300,000, or less than one-seventh of the total increase from 1913 to 1920.

Leaving out of account the miscellaneous group, which is not important in numbers, the four remaining groups—(1) Building, (2) Metal, Machinery and Shipbuilding, (3) Clothing, and (4) Transportation—are responsible for 1,800,000 of the two and one-quarter million increase from 1913 to 1920. It seems obvious, therefore, that the immediate future of American trade-union membership is largely dependent upon its future in these industries.

When the increases in these industries are compared, it appears that of the increase of 1,800,000 approximately 700,000 is attributable to transportation. But even this large increase by no

means represents the full importance of transportation in the increase of trade-union membership from 1913 to 1920. A very considerable part of the increases credited to the building and metal groups is properly ascribable to the transportation group. Unfortunately, no exact statement of the total increase which should be credited to transportation can be made. But it is within bounds to say that 1,000,000 of the total increase of two and a quarter millions since 1913 are to be found in transportation, and that of these about 700,000 are in the railway service. It is a significant fact also that in the railway service, taken as a whole, the great increase in membership has occurred since 1918. The increase in trade-union membership from 1919 to 1920, exceeding that in any other year, was, indeed, chiefly attributable to the rapid growth of trade unionism in the railway service.

In view of the large part played by the railroad unions in the increase of membership, the consideration of the probable immediate future of American trade-union membership may be approached best by dealing first with the railroad unions. This division of the question is justified, not only by the great relative increase in the membership of these unions, but even more by certain conditions peculiar to the railway service, which affect materially trade-union membership. In all the four great industrial groups—Building, Metals, Clothing, and Transportation, which, as shown above, contributed four-fifths of the total increase in trade-union membership from 1915 to 1920—the growth of trade unionism was greatly stimulated by direct governmental action. These were the war industries *par excellence* and the intervention of the government in one way or another to preserve industrial peace resulted in all of them in great increases in membership. The forms of governmental intervention which produced this result varied from industry to industry, but in all industries except transportation governmental intervention has ceased. Some account must be taken of the continuing effects of the activities of the government. It is possible that trade unionism has been given such an impetus in the clothing trades, for example, that it will for a time retain its stronger hold. But unless reinforced by some other factor, as, for example, restriction of immigration, there is no reason to believe that governmental intervention has produced in any of these industries, except transportation, permanent results. But in the railway service, the end of the war was not the end of governmental intervention. As

far as any one can now see, the system of judicial determination of wages and working conditions set up by the Esch-Cummins Act is a permanent institution.

The effects of the continuance of governmental control on the membership of the railway unions is twofold. In the first place, the membership of the unions is protected against the more important disintegrating influences of a time of depression. There can be no building up of non-union establishments and no diversion of work to non-unionists. There has been some loss of membership directly through unemployment, but this loss is easily recouped. The second effect of the continuance of government control has been the extension of certain rules which were a powerful force in some of the unions prior to governmental intervention in attracting and holding members. The outstanding feature of trade unionism on the railways until recently has been the high state of organization among the workmen making up the train crews, and to a less extent in the shops, and the low state of organization elsewhere. This difference is explicable partly by the fact that the members of the train crews are more necessary to the operation of the road, partly by the higher average intelligence of these workmen. Through the use of these elements of strength, the brotherhoods had won on all the roads the right to organize and to bargain collectively. Under the governmental operation of the roads and under the Labor Board, the right to organize and to bargain collectively has been given to all groups of employees, no matter how easily replaceable. But the right to organize alone would have produced far less significant results in an increase of membership than those actually attained. It is one of the curious although little observed phenomena of American trade unionism that the railway brotherhoods, although not availing themselves of the aid of the closed shop, have been able to bring into membership larger proportions of the men in their trades than any other unions of equal or even approximately equal size. The opponents of the closed shop, indeed, have occasionally called attention to the success of the brotherhoods, and have argued therefrom the uselessness of the closed shop as a means of gaining and holding members.

The explanation of the great success of the brotherhoods appears to lie in certain provisions in the agreements with the roads secured at a very early time. These provisions cover the subjects of discipline and promotion and operate to give every

member of the brotherhoods a direct personal interest in the activities of his union. It is a fact of common observation in the study of trade unions that those unions are strongest, other things being equal, in which the work of the union affects the member solely as an individual.

The desire to raise wages or shorten hours is a mass desire and in experience has proved less strong than the desire to resist unjust discharge or discrimination. Where a piece rate, for example, must be the subject of constant bargaining, the desire of the worker to put behind himself the strength of the union is apparently more effective than the desire to coöperate in raising the standard rate. In any group, a large number of men are willing to leave to their fellows the task of carrying on collective bargaining for those things the common benefit from which will accrue to the entire group, but very few men will refrain from group action where the end to be sought is peculiar, and individual to themselves. The coal miner who expects to find himself in a controversy with his employer over deadwork will join the union, although he might not do so if the only question likely to come up was the matter of the standard rate and there were no check-off.

The National Agreements concluded between the railway unions and the Railway Administration contain in somewhat modified form the provisions as to discipline and promotion which for many years have been in the agreements of the brotherhoods. These provisions will prove a powerful force for holding membership.

If we turn now to the unions not included in the railway group the outlook is far less promising. In the clothing industries the restriction of immigration has lessened the danger of non-union competition, but, broadly speaking, no essential change in condition has occurred.

Will the experience of the past be repeated? I have said above that since 1897 the recession in trade-union membership in no period of business depression has been more than ten per cent. Will the American unions emerge from the present industrial depression with no greater loss than this? Since the main difficulty in the retention of membership, apart from actual loss through unemployment, lies in the necessity for a readjustment of wages to the general level of prices, the gravity of the problem is determined primarily by the amount of the change in the general

level of prices. The rapid and great fall in prices has presented to the American unions a problem which differs markedly in degree from any which they have ever faced. The nearest approach was the period of deflation after the Civil War. But as trade unionism was unimportant in the United States at that time, the analogy is not helpful.

Prediction is hazardous, but there are indications in such reports of union membership as are available that the fall in trade-union membership, with the exception of the membership of the railway unions, will far exceed the loss suffered in previous periods. How great the loss will be will depend largely upon the tactical skill with which the unions are managed during the period of depression.

Trade unions function best under a regime of static prices. The problems to be envisaged in a period of declining prices, and the conditions which must be taken into account, vary widely from union to union. Those unions which are protected by long-time arbitration contracts have least to apprehend. But where such contracts do not exist, the unions must face the issue of changes in wages, and a decision as to proper policy is extremely difficult to make. First to be taken into account is the power of the union to resist, and the factors to be reckoned here include the growth of non-union competition and the possible replacement of union men by non-unionists. Secondly, the union, in theory at any rate, should consider the effect on the amount of employment of a change in wage rates. As to neither of these two sets of conditions is there available information which is even approximately exact enough for the purpose in hand.

But even more important than the lack of exact information is the reluctance of trade unions, especially of the rank and file, to guide their policies by purely competitive, economic considerations. The trade union exists in a world ruled by economic factors, but it has adopted as its ruling principle the *dictum* that labor is not a commodity. I do not raise the question as to whether that is a sound principle, but it is certainly a principle on which it is difficult to act in a period of falling prices and at the same time to preserve intact or approximately intact the strength of the unions.

MEMBERSHIP OF AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS, 1915-1920.

(00's omitted)

Unless otherwise indicated the data contained in this table were obtained from the reports of the American Federation of Labor. Figures in italics were obtained from the proceedings of the union or by correspondence with the central office of the union.

| Name of Union | 1915 | 1916 | 1917 | 1918 | 1919 | 1920 |
|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| MINING AND QUARRYING | | | | | | |
| Mine, Mill and Smelt. Workers. | 167 | 161 | 179 | 167 | 178 | 211 |
| United Mine Workers..... | 3116 | 3180 | 3520 | 4134 | 3938 | 3936 |
| Quarry Workers..... | 36 | 35 | 35 | 31 | 30 | 30 |
| Total in Group..... | 3319 | 3376 | 3734 | 4332 | 4146 | 4177 |
| BUILDING TRADES | | | | | | |
| Bricklayers and Masons..... | 759 | 738 | 785 | 716 | 652 | 736 |
| Bridge and Iron Workers..... | 123 | 142 | 160 | 186 | 241 | 277 |
| Building Laborers..... | 111 | 80 | † | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Carpenters, United..... | 1940 | 2128 | 2472 | 3217 | 3460 | 3719 |
| Cement Workers..... | 16 | | | | | |
| Ceramic Tile Layers..... | 30 | 28 | 28 | 25 | † | ..... |
| Composition Roofers..... | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 10 | 18 |
| Compressed Air Workers..... | 12 | 14 | 16 | † | ..... | ..... |
| Electrical Workers..... | 362 | 362 | 415 | 544 | 1312 | 1392 |
| Elevator Constructors..... | 27 | 28 | 29 | 29 | 30 | 31 |
| Heat and Asbestos Workers..... | 10 | 10 | 10 | 16 | 18 | 22 |
| Hod Carriers..... | 319 | 324 | 324 | 367 | 400 | 420 |
| Marble Workers..... | 16 | 6 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 12 |
| Painters..... | 753 | 782 | 852 | 845 | 827 | 1031 |
| Plasterers..... | 183 | 184 | 190 | 190 | 190 | 194 |
| Plumbers..... | 410 | 450 | 520 | 600 | 600 | 750 |
| Sheet Metal Workers..... | 178 | 175 | 176 | 183 | 202 | 218 |
| Slate and Tile Roofers..... | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | † |
| Wood and Metal Lathers..... | 60 | 60 | 60 | 60 | 60 | 59 |
| Total in Group..... | 5327 | 5529 | 6065 | 7006 | 8018 | 8879 |
| METAL, MACHINERY, AND SHIPBUILDING | | | | | | |
| Blacksmiths..... | 85 | 97 | 120 | 183 | 283 | 483 |
| Blast Furnace Workers..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Boiler Makers..... | 173 | 182 | 312 | 555 | 849 | 1030 |
| Automobile, Aircraft, etc..... | 130 | 172 | 195 | 232 | 381 | 454 |
| Cutting Die Makers..... | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Diamond Workers..... | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Draftmen's Union..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 18 | 35 |
| Engineers, Amalgamated..... | 34 | 32 | 30 | 28 | 26 | † |
| Foundry Employees..... | 6 | 8 | 13 | 33 | 54 | 91 |
| I. S. and Tin Workers..... | 65 | 67 | 110 | 161 | 197 | 315 |
| Jewelry Workers..... | ..... | 53 | 43 | 48 | 51 | 81 |
| Machinists..... | 719 | 1009 | 1125 | 1436 | 2546 | 3308 |
| Metal Polishers..... | 110 | 115 | 120 | 135 | 130 | 125 |
| Molders..... | 500 | 500 | 500 | 500 | 500 | 500 |
| Pattern Makers..... | 65 | 65 | 70 | 88 | 90 | 90 |
| Pocket Knife Grinders..... | 3 | 2 | † | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Railway Carmen..... | 293 | 308 | 390 | 534 | 1004 | 1821 |
| Saw Smiths..... | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Stove Mounters..... | 11 | 12 | 17 | 19 | 19 | 19 |
| Wire Weavers..... | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Total in Group..... | 2204 | 2631 | 3055 | 3962 | 6159 | 8365 |

† Union disbanded or amalgamated with another union.

| Name of Union | 1915 | 1916 | 1917 | 1918 | 1919 | 1920 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| PAPER, PRINTING AND BOOKBINDING | | | | | | |
| Bookbinders..... | 85 | 93 | 114 | 145 | 164 | 207 |
| Lithographers..... | 35 | 42 | 46 | 49 | 56 | 61 |
| Lith. Press Feeders..... | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | † | .... |
| Machine Printers..... | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Paper Makers..... | 45 | 52 | 64 | 60 | 57 | 74 |
| Photo Engravers..... | 48 | 51 | 51 | 51 | 50 | 59 |
| Poster Artists..... | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Printing Pressmen..... | 227 | 290 | 330 | 340 | 340 | 350 |
| Pulp and Paper Mill Workers..... | 43 | 44 | 65 | 80 | 84 | 95 |
| Steel Plate Engravers..... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 1 | 2 |
| Steel Plate Printers..... | 13 | 12 | 13 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
| Steel Plate Transferrers..... | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Stereotypers..... | 49 | 49 | 52 | 53 | 54 | 59 |
| Tip Printers..... | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | † | .... |
| Typographical Union..... | 591 | 607 | 616 | 633 | 647 | 705 |
| Total in Group..... | 1152 | 1257 | 1368 | 1440 | 1476 | 1636 |
| LUMBER AND WOODWORKING | | | | | | |
| Box Makers and Sawyers..... | 110 | 80 | 70 | † | .... | .... |
| Coopers..... | 39 | 36 | 39 | 40 | 40 | 43 |
| Piano and Organ Workers..... | 10 | 10 | 15 | 20 | 20 | 32 |
| Shingle Weavers..... | 7 | 4 | 5 | † | .... | .... |
| Timber Workers..... | .... | .... | 2 | 23 | 32 | 101 |
| Upholsterers..... | 35 | 39 | 40 | 48 | 55 | 56 |
| Wood Carvers..... | 10 | 11 | 12 | 12 | 10 | 12 |
| Total in Group..... | 211 | 180 | 183 | 143 | 157 | 244 |
| CHEMICAL, CLAY, GLASS AND STONE | | | | | | |
| Brick and Clay Workers..... | 29 | 32 | 28 | 25 | 27 | 52 |
| Flint Glass Workers..... | 94 | 94 | 98 | 99 | 95 | 99 |
| Glass Bottle Blowers..... | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Glass Work, Amal..... | 11 | † | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Granite Cutters..... | 135 | 131 | 125 | 119 | 107 | 105 |
| Potters, Operative..... | 78 | 77 | 76 | 78 | 74 | 80 |
| Powder Workers..... | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| Stone Cutters..... | 44 | 43 | 41 | 42 | 39 | 40 |
| Window Glass Workers..... | 38 | 41 | 46 | 43 | 37 | 38 |
| Total in Group..... | 531 | 521 | 517 | 510 | 482 | 517 |
| FOOD, LIQUOR AND TOBACCO | | | | | | |
| Bakery Workers..... | 158 | 175 | 189 | 204 | 210 | 275 |
| Brewery Workers..... | 520 | 496 | 450 | 450 | 400 | 341 |
| Cigar Makers..... | 394 | 377 | 416 | 395 | 363 | 388 |
| Tobacco Workers..... | 39 | 34 | 32 | 33 | 42 | 152 |
| Total in Group..... | 1111 | 1082 | 1087 | 1082 | 1015 | 1156 |
| RESTAURANT AND TRADE | | | | | | |
| Butcher Workmen..... | 18 | 17 | 15 | † | .... | .... |
| Hotel Employees..... | 606 | 590 | 646 | 652 | 608 | 604 |
| Hotel Workers..... | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Meat Cutters..... | 61 | 73 | 96 | 291 | 663 | 653 |
| Retail Clerks..... | 150 | 150 | 150 | 150 | 150 | 208 |
| Total in Group..... | 885 | 880 | 957 | 1143 | 1471 | 1515 |

† Union disbanded or amalgamated with another union.

| Name of Union | 1915 | 1916 | 1917 | 1918 | 1919 | 1920 |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| TEXTILE | | | | | | |
| Elastic Goring Weavers..... | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Lace Operatives..... | 12 | 11 | 12 | 12 | 9 | 9 |
| Machine Textile Printers..... | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Print Cutters..... | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Spinners..... | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 |
| Textile Workers..... | 189 | 255 | 371 | 459 | 558 | 1049 |
| Total in Group..... | 233 | 298 | 415 | 503 | 599 | 1090 |
| CLOTHING. | | | | | | |
| Cloth Hat Workers..... | 30 | 63 | 88 | 94 | 95 | 106 |
| Clothing Workers, Amal..... | 380 | 480 | 570 | 810 | 1440 | 1770 |
| Garment Workers..... | 422 | 430 | 449 | 459 | 460 | 459 |
| Glove Workers..... | 10 | 10 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 10 |
| Hatters..... | 85 | 85 | 85 | 91 | 100 | 105 |
| Ladies Garment Workers..... | 653 | 851 | 823 | 895 | 905 | 1054 |
| Tailors..... | 120 | 120 | 120 | 120 | 120 | 120 |
| Total in Group..... | 1700 | 2039 | 2143 | 2476 | 3127 | 3624 |
| LEATHER. | | | | | | |
| Boot and Shoe Workers..... | 356 | 390 | 396 | 358 | 368 | 467 |
| Horse Goods, Workers on..... | 18 | 18 | † | .... | .... | .... |
| Leather Workers..... | .... | .... | 32 | 41 | 67 | 117 |
| Shoe Workers United..... | 120 | 150 | 200 | 230 | 390 | 330 |
| Traveling Goods..... | 9 | 10 | † | .... | .... | .... |
| Total in Group..... | 503 | 568 | 628 | 629 | 825 | 914 |
| TRANSPORTATION. | | | | | | |
| Commercial Telegraphers..... | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 20 | 22 |
| Locomotive Engineers..... | 737 | 729 | 752 | 808 | 831 | 869 |
| Locomotive Firemen..... | 831 | 936 | 1030 | 1134 | 1233 | 1259 |
| Longshoremen..... | 250 | 250 | 255 | 260 | 313 | 740 |
| Maintenance of Way Employees..... | 81 | 89 | 97 | 56 | 542 | 600 |
| Marine Engineers..... | 91 | 93 | 105 | 79 | 128 | 170 |
| Masters, Mates and Pilots..... | 45 | 40 | 43 | 48 | 62 | 71 |
| Pavers..... | 16 | 15 | 15 | 17 | 18 | 19 |
| Paving Cutters..... | 35 | 33 | 32 | 32 | 26 | 26 |
| Railroad Patrolmen..... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 26 |
| Railroad Signalmen..... | 8 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 62 | 123 |
| Railroad Station Agents..... | 35 | 35 | 40 | 45 | 50 | 88 |
| Railroad Stationmen..... | .... | .... | .... | 61 | 45 | 33 |
| Railroad Station Employees..... | 134 | 187 | 222 | 294 | 327 | 352 |
| Railroad Telegraphers..... | 250 | 250 | 272 | 377 | 446 | 487 |
| Railroad Trainmen..... | 1305 | 1432 | 1591 | 1814 | 1969 | 1846 |
| Railway Clerks..... | 50 | 51 | 68 | 172 | 714 | 1860 |
| Railroad Conductors..... | 485 | 481 | 487 | 503 | 524 | 560 |
| Seamen..... | 160 | 217 | 322 | 371 | 427 | 659 |
| Steam Shovelmen..... | 27 | 20 | 29 | 37 | 60 | 80 |
| Sleeping Car Conductors..... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 12 |
| Street and Electric Railway Employees.... | 589 | 646 | 737 | 786 | 897 | 987 |
| Switchmen..... | 90 | 93 | 102 | 107 | 118 | 140 |
| Teamsters..... | 516 | 590 | 703 | 729 | 756 | 1108 |
| Tunnel Constructors..... | 15 | 27 | 34 | 24 | 20 | 30 |
| Total in Group..... | 5760 | 6233 | 6954 | 7773 | 9588 | 12167 |

† Union disbanded or amalgamated with another union.

| Name of Union | 1915 | 1916 | 1917 | 1918 | 1919 | 1920 |
|----------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| THEATRES AND MUSIC | | | | | | |
| Actors..... | 87 | 90 | 47 | 30 | 30 | 69 |
| Musicians..... | 600 | 600 | 604 | 650 | 654 | 700 |
| Theatrical Stage Employees..... | 180 | 181 | 186 | 186 | 185 | 196 |
| Total in Group..... | 867 | 871 | 837 | 866 | 869 | 965 |
| PUBLIC SERVICE | | | | | | |
| Federal Employees..... | .... | .... | 81 | 109 | 204 | 385 |
| Fire Fighters..... | .... | .... | .... | 23 | 154 | 221 |
| Letter Carriers..... | 332 | 334 | 328 | 325 | 339 | 224 |
| Post Office Clerks..... | 250 | 250 | 250 | 250 | 250 | 250 |
| Post Office Clerks, Federal..... | 32 | 42 | 81 | 101 | 145 | 162 |
| Railway Mail Assoc..... | 133 | 135 | 134 | 135 | 147 | 148 |
| Railway Postal Clerks..... | 20 | 27 | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Teachers, Am. Fed. of..... | .... | 27 | 21 | 10 | 28 | 93 |
| Total in group..... | 767 | 815 | 895 | 953 | 1267 | 1606 |
| MISCELLANEOUS | | | | | | |
| Barbers..... | 341 | 359 | 398 | 384 | 359 | 442 |
| Bill Posters..... | 14 | 15 | 15 | 16 | 16 | 16 |
| Broom Makers..... | 7 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 10 | 14 |
| Brush Makers..... | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | † | .... |
| Trade and Fed. Un..... | 238 | 352 | 584 | 665 | 652 | 868 |
| Fur Workers..... | 37 | 57 | 81 | 100 | 108 | 121 |
| Horse Shoers..... | 57 | 58 | 54 | 54 | 54 | 54 |
| Laundry Workers..... | 41 | 43 | 46 | 55 | 60 | 67 |
| Oil and Gas Well..... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 45 | 209 |
| Stationary Firemen..... | 160 | 170 | 170 | 171 | 205 | 296 |
| Steam Engineers..... | 210 | 210 | 220 | 230 | 250 | 320 |
| Total in Group..... | 1107 | 1274 | 1577 | 1684 | 1759 | 2407 |
| Total in all Groups..... | 25677 | 27554 | 30415 | 34502 | 40958 | 49243 |

† Union disbanded or amalgamated with another union.